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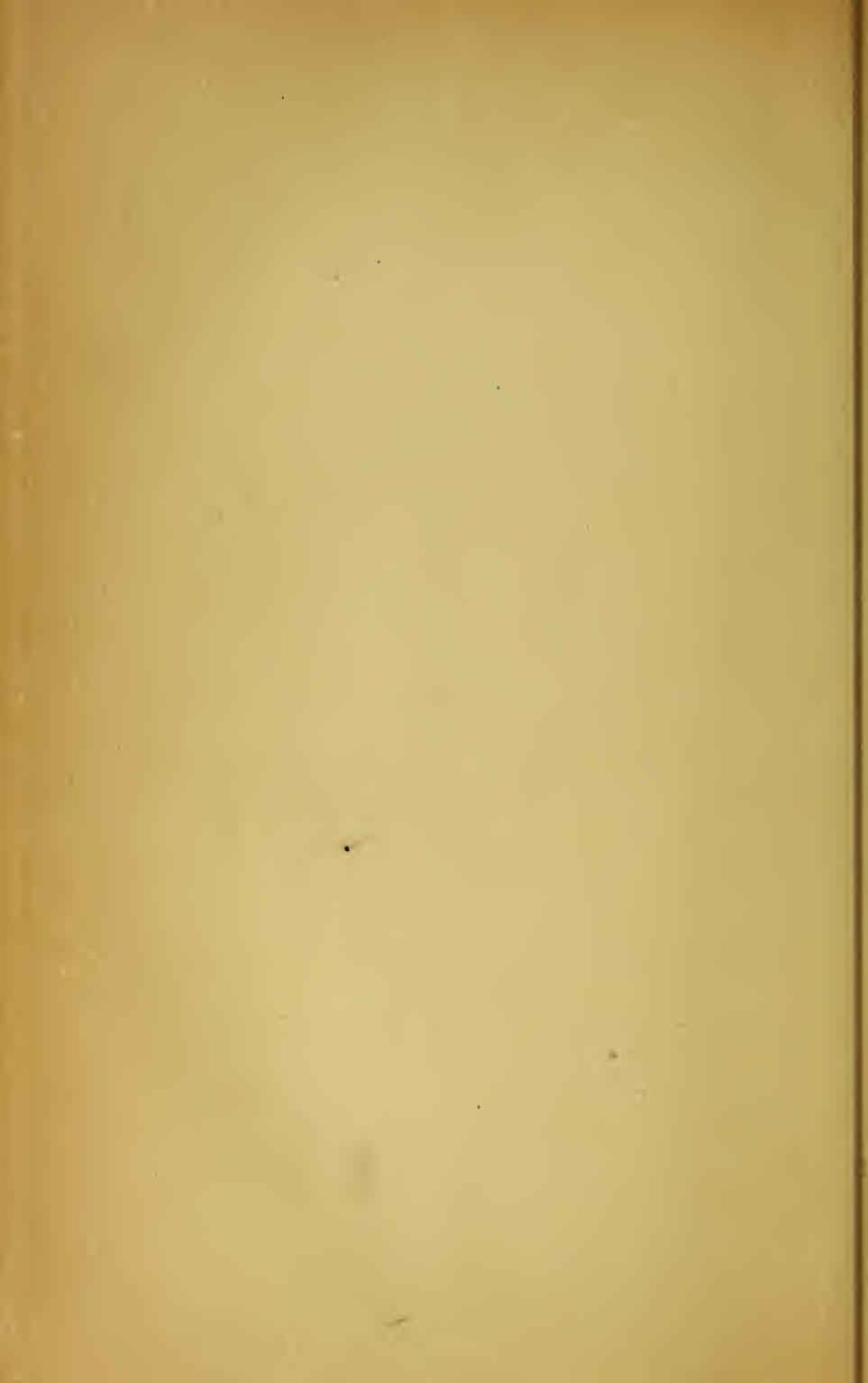
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H. U.

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FACTS FOR THE PEOPLE.

TO THE CITIZENS OF MASSACHUSETTS :

IN the belief that the people of Massachusetts, under the influence of some of the leaders of the Republican party, have been swept along by a current, the direction and even the existence of which, has been concealed from them, towards dangers which threaten to overwhelm the country, they are earnestly invited to consider the following facts.

In January, 1857, a convention assembled at Worcester, to inaugurate measures for the dissolution of the Union. Francis W. Bird was the President of that convention. In the course of a speech which he made, he said : —

“ They [the Republicans] proclaim us traitors because we are laying hands upon this Union. I say liberty and union if it may be ; liberty first and union afterwards, if it need be. Liberty in the Union and under the Constitution if possible ; *but liberty out of the Union and over the Constitution, if it must be.*”

And again he said, —

“ I have felt that it is time that this question of abolition should be met, and I came here to enroll myself among those who believe that the mission of this nation is Freedom, and who go for the abolition of slavery *at the price of dissolution if need be.*”

In another place he said : —

“ There is no Union between the North and the South. We have no rights. This Union never did, does not now, and never can, governed by the same influences as now, give us any rights as members of the Northern portion of the Union. *It never was worth anything to the*

free States, except that, at the commencement of the government, our fathers, having just emerged from the Revolutionary war, felt the necessity of Union to prepare for the 'common defence.' In that age, when it was supposed that rights could be maintained only by war, and the power of the strongest was the only power recognized, they felt the necessity of a Union to protect the infant Republic from foreign aggressions. *That necessity no longer exists; and it seems to me that no sane and sensible man, who looks upon this matter apart from any political aspirations, can make himself believe that this Union is of any value to anybody in the free States now."*

That convention appointed a State Committee, of which Mr. Bird was one, and passed the following resolutions among others:—

Resolved, That this movement does not seek merely disunion, but the more perfect union of the free States *by the expulsion of the slave States from the confederation*, in which they have ever been an element of discord, danger, and disgrace.

Resolved, That it is not probable that the ultimate severance of the Union will be an act of deliberation or discussion,—but that a long period of deliberation and discussion must precede it; and *this we meet to begin*.

Resolved, That henceforward, instead of regarding it as an objection to any system of policy, that it will lead to the separation of the States, we will proclaim that to be the highest of all recommendations, and the greatest proof of statesmanship; *and we will support, politically or otherwise, such men and measures as appear to tend most to this result*.

Resolved, That by the repeated confession of Northern and Southern statesmen, "the existence of the Union is the chief guaranty of slavery;" and that the despots of the whole world have everything to fear, and the slaves of the whole world everything to hope, *from its destruction, and the rise of a free Northern Republic*.

Resolved, That the sooner the separation takes place, the more peaceful it will be; but that peace or war is a *secondary consideration*, in view of our present perils. Slavery must be conquered, "*peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.*"

Resolved, That the experience of more than sixty years has proved our national government to be a mere creature and tool of the Slave

Power, subservient only to the purpose of despotism ; a formidable obstacle to the advancement and prosperity both of the free and slave States ; a libel upon our Democratic theories of government ; a disgrace to the civilization of the age, and a bitter curse to the cause of freedom in our own country and throughout the world.

Resolved, That, in view of this long and painful experience, we have no longer any hope of its reformation, but are fully convinced that the best interests of every section of the country *require its immediate dissolution*.

Resolved, That this Convention recommends, as the first step towards the accomplishment of this object, the organization in each of the States, of a political party outside of the present Constitution and Union, — *a party whose candidates shall be publicly pledged, in the event of their election, to ignore the Federal Government, to refuse an oath to its Constitution, and to make their respective States free and independent communities.*

The Hon. Amasa Walker was invited to attend that convention, but being unable to do so, addressed it a letter, dated North Brookfield, January 10, 1857, from which the following extracts are made : —

“For one, I must confess, I am sick of so much cant about ‘the Union.’ I know perfectly well that it is feigned and false — that those who indulge in it do it because they think they must, and lest they should be themselves damned as ‘disunionists’ — a name of reproach they dread, far more than that of ‘traitors to freedom.’ Our political men seem to feel, that, so long as they insist that they are in favor of the Union, at all hazards and in every emergency, they are safe ; hence they are constantly shouting, at the top of their voices, ‘Great is Diana of the Ephesians !’

“In my humble opinion, it is high time that this hypocritical bluster was silenced. But that work can only be done in primary assemblies of the yeomanry of the country, like that you propose to hold. The people of Massachusetts, I have the best reason to know, are quite ready to take the ground, *practically*, that they will have *liberty and Union, or no Union whatever.*”

“There never was a time in the history of this country when the

people needed bold and determined leaders more than at this moment. But such leaders the people must themselves create by resolving that such men, and such only, shall receive their countenance and support. If the people will but exhibit the right spirit, they will soon have leaders of the right stamp."

"No one thing, as it seems to me, is so threatening to all our great interests as the blind idolatry which the press of the country, whether literary, political, or religious, pays to 'the Union;' nothing is so calculated to enslave the people, stupefy the public conscience, and destroy all true manhood. *I have not the least hope for our land until this abject, craven spirit is rebuked, and men speak out as boldly and freely on this subject of 'the Union' as they do on other matters.*"

"Now I think that the more fully and calmly we examine this great question, the better it will be for our common country. The incessant stream of *fulsome adulation of the Union, which flows from the press of the North, degrades and disgraces us in the eyes of the people of the South, and leads them to despise and trample on us.* They regard it, as well they may, as mean, dastardly, and mercenary."

"Now, sir, if the object of yourself and your associates is to awaken the people to a free and fearless discussion of this great question, with a determination to act in such a manner as their conviction shall dictate, let that action be what it may, then I am with you; if not, then you can, and doubtless will, go on very satisfactorily without me; but at all events, I am right glad that somebody has had the courage to move in this matter. The spell must be broken, even at the risk of broken heads, and those who have the hardihood to engage in such a work, are the men to do it."

Thus, in 1857, in Massachusetts, measures were deliberately taken by men in Massachusetts to bring about the dissolution of the Union.

It is now the duty of those who are laboring to restore and preserve the Union, to know what relation the Republican party, or its leaders, hold to that *Disunion Convention*, or to those concerned in it. LOOK, THEN, AT THESE FACTS:

1. Francis W. Bird, the president of that convention, and a member of the *State Disunion Committee*, is now a member of

the *Republican State Central Committee*, and a nominee of the *Republican party for the Governor's Council*.

He was also a member of the Republican Convention held this year at Worcester which refused to adopt Mr. Dana's resolution "that Massachusetts, with all her heart, and soul, and mind, and strength, will support the President of the United States in the prosecution of this war to the entire and final suppression of the rebellion."

Thus we find the same man, at one time presiding over a convention which resolved "that it would *support politically* or otherwise such *men and measures as appear to tend most to*" a "separation of the States," and which recommended the formation of "a party whose candidates shall be publicly pledged, in the event of their election, to *ignore the Federal Government, to refuse an oath to its Constitution*, and to make their respective States free and independent communities;" and at another, and later time, a member of a convention which recommends Charles Sumner for Senator and John A. Andrew for Governor, and refuses to pledge its support to the President in his efforts to suppress the rebellion and restore the Union.

2. The Hon. Amasa Walker, who wrote a letter to that Disunion Convention, saying, "*I am right glad somebody has had the courage to move in this matter*," and that "The spell must be broken, *even at the risk of broken heads*," is now nominated for Congress, by the Republicans of the 9th Congressional District; now, when the one great duty, resting upon the people, and upon Congress, is, to restore and save the Union.

Such are the men whom the Republican party delights to honor.

Citizens of Massachusetts: reflect upon their doings. Think of sending a disunion man to Congress to help the President save the Union! Is that a true support of the President?

3. Mr. Sumner and Governor Andrew, who were recommended for re-election by the Republican Convention together

with many of the leading men of that convention, are well known to be in close sympathy, upon the subject of slavery, with the leading spirits of the Disunion Convention ; with Mr. Phillips, Mr. Garrison, Mr. Bird, and others. *They also sympathize with each other in their condemnation of the People's movement and of those engaged in it.*

4. The *Disunion Convention* proposed the dissolution of the Union as a means of exterminating slavery, and the Republican Convention resolved that slavery should be exterminated, as a means of suppressing the rebellion, but said not a word about restoring the Union, while Mr. Sumner, whom it indorsed, had previously introduced resolutions into the Senate, declaring in substance that the States in rebellion had forfeited all their rights as members of the Union, and were to be subdued and held, hereafter, not as members of the Union, but as territories only, thus excluding the idea of a restoration of the union of the United States as the object of the war.

Is it not therefore evident that some of the leaders of the Republican party do not love the Union, or care for its restoration, and do not prosecute the war for that object, but seize upon it as a means for accomplishing their long cherished schemes of abolition? How else can we account for their nomination of a man for Congress who has *avowed his sympathy with Disunionists and their schemes?*

If any doubt exists that the objects of Mr. Sumner and his indorsers, in prosecuting the war, are entirely at variance with the objects declared by Congress and the President, let the Resolution of Congress at the extra session in 1861, and the declaration of the President in his Emancipation Proclamation be compared with Mr. Sumner's resolutions offered in the Senate at the last session.

The Resolution of Congress is as follows : —

“Resolved, That the present deplorable civil war has been forced upon the country by the disunionists of the Southern States, now in arms against the Constitutional Government, and in arms around the

Capitol; that in this National emergency, Congress, banishing all feeling of mere passion and resentment, will recollect only its duty to the whole country; that this war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest or subjugation, or purpose of overthrowing or interfering with the rights or established institutions of those States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union, *with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several States unimpaired*; and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to cease."

The President declares his purpose as follows: —

"I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, &c., do hereby proclaim and declare, that hereafter, as heretofore, *the war will be prosecuted for the object of practically restoring the constitutional relations between the United States and the people thereof* in which States that relation is or may be suspended or disturbed."

Here are two of Mr. Sumner's resolutions, the first and the last: —

Resolved, That any vote of secession or other act by which any State may undertake to put an end to the supremacy of the Constitution within its territory is inoperative and void against the Constitution, and when sustained by force it becomes a practical *abdication* by the State of all rights under the Constitution, while the treason which it involves still further works an instant *forfeiture* of all those functions and powers essential to the continued existence of the State as a body politic, so that from that time forward the territory falls under the exclusive jurisdiction of Congress as other territory, and the State being, according to the language of the law, *felo de-se, ceases to exist*.

Resolved, That the duty directly cast upon Congress *by the extinction of the States* is reinforced by the positive prohibition of the Constitution that "no State shall enter into any confederation," or "without the consent of Congress keep troops or men-of-war in times of peace or enter into any agreement or compact with another State," or "grant letters of marque and reprisal," or "coin money," or "emit bills of credit," or "without the consent of Congress lay any duties on imports or exports," all of which has been done by these pretended governments, and also by the positive injunction of the Constitution, addressed to the nation, that "the United States shall guarantee to

every State in this Union a republican form of government ;” and that in pursuance of this duty cast upon Congress, and further enjoined by the Constitution, *Congress will assume complete jurisdiction of such vacated territory* where such unconstitutional and illegal things have been attempted, and will proceed to establish therein republican forms of government under the Constitution ; and in the execution of this trust will provide carefully for the protection of all the inhabitants thereof, for the security of families, the organization of labor, the encouragement of industry, and the welfare of society, and will in every way discharge the duties of a just, merciful, and paternal government.

Citizens of Massachusetts ; whom will you support ; Mr. Sumner, with his scheme for *wiping out some of the States from the Union, and assuming complete jurisdiction of their territory* ; or the President, in his patriotic efforts to *restore all the States to our glorious Union* under the Constitution given us by the Father of his Country and the Patriots of the Revolution ?

